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Session S01

History, Archaeology and Society

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HISTORY, IMAGE, AND MUSIC: THE AULOS IN THE VINEYARDS. HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY AND MULTIDISCIPLINARITY IN THE STUDY OF ANCIENT GREEK CULTURE

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Abstract: *The goal of this article is to present a reflection upon the experience of disciplinary decentering put forth by the development of a research on the study of daily life music in classical and late ancient Athens. This research was based on the systematic analysis of the iconography of Attic pottery. This multidisciplinary experience was connected to the need of binding an interpretation of the meaning of music in daily practices, understood as possessing social and cultural meaning; it was linked with characteristics that are inherent to the study of classical ceramology as well as to the study of images as archaeological documental support. Certainties about the boundaries of different areas were thus lost, this study being in the midst of Archaeology, Anthropology, and History. These boundaries were gradually renounced as this study grew more familiar with the epistemological field of Historical Archaeology. In this article, we present a case study of the representation of the aulos music in the vintage in Antiquity, analyzing the interface between historical and iconographical sources.*

Key-words: Classical Archaeology – Iconography – Ancient Greece – Music

Resumé: *Cet article prétend présenter une réflexion sur l'absence de centralité disciplinaire vécu pendant le développement d'une recherche sur la musique dans la vie quotidienne de l'Athènes tardo-archaïque et classique. Cet expérience s'en suit d'une analyse systématique de l'iconographie de la céramique attique. Cet expérience de multidisciplinarité était liée à la nécessité de atteindre une interprétation du sens de la musique dans la vie quotidienne, considérant qu'elle possédait signification sociale et culturelle; elle était lieu de même façon aux caractéristiques qui sont propres aussi à l'étude de la céramologie classique qu'à l'étude des images come support documentaire iconographique. On a perdu des certitudes sur les limites des différents domaines de connaissance: cet étude se situe entre l'Archéologie, l'Anthropologie et l'Histoire. On a progressivement renoncé ces frontières disciplinaire, à la mesure que l'étude s'avoisinait du domaine épistémologique de la Archéologie historique. Dans cet article on présente un étude de cas sur la représentation de la musique de l'aulos dans la vendange dans l'Antiquité, en analysant la relation entre les sources historiques et iconographiques.*

Mots-clef: Archéologie Classique – Iconographie – Grèce antique – Musique

As a Brazilian archaeologist and historian of the ancient world, I propose to present a reflection upon the epistemological interfaces between Classical Archaeology and Historical Archaeology. I will show these relations in the field of Classical Iconography in view of presenting aspects of multidisciplinary that is inherent to these studies.

As Classical Iconography is one of the major fields in Ancient History and Classical Archaeology research in Brazil, I would like to explore its potential in order to articulate a dialogue between these areas of research in the making of knowledge regarding the ancient world – namely, historical, archaeological, and anthropological knowledge.

Thinking of an interdisciplinary dialogue between Ancient History, Classical Archaeology, and Anthropology of Ancient Greece, I have decided to address this issue with a discussion that intends to reflect upon Classical Iconography as an area within Historical Archaeology. Hence I propose to spur a possible and commendable dialogue between Classical Archaeology and Historical Archaeology. However, the latter is essentially regarded, in Brazil, as an Archaeology of material records left by social and cultural contexts established after the arrival of European and African elements in the Amerindian continent. I do not understand that the defining factor of Historical Archaeology is the

spatio-temporal frame of “Archaeology of the Modern World / Archaeology of Capitalism / Archaeology of Post-colonial America.” In my perspective, what defines Historical Archaeology is its methodology, its epistemological bases.

I do not claim to be the father of this line of reflection, since other Brazilian colleagues, such as archaeologist Pedro Paulo Abreu Funari, have been working within this perspective for some time.

The making of a field of studies within Archaeology that is identified and named as Historical Archaeology is something relatively recent; nevertheless, if we consider its objects of study, we will realize that it has existed for a longer period of time. The spread of the field, mainly from the 1980s onwards, is related to the development of Post-colonial American Archaeology (of the continent as a whole), as opposed to the Archaeology that studies pre-colonial and prehistoric cultures. It has often been named “Archaeology of the Modern World”, and its definition has been confused with a kind of Archaeology of Capitalism.

However the epistemological core of the definition of Historical Archaeology as a discipline does not lie on its chronological or geographic bases, but on the conceptual and methodological issue of records and testimony. In order to escape the mixed-up suggestion that Historical

Archaeology is essentially American and that it refers to the social and cultural processes that followed the arrival of European elements in the continent, Orser and Funari appropriately make reference to Historical Archaeology in the New World (Orser 1990, 1998; Singleton 1995, 1999). Therefore I allow myself to think of Historical Archaeology in the Ancient World. And what would that be?

Historical Archaeology is characterized by the possibility to make use of written, iconographic, architectural, and oral sources, besides material culture, in order to interpret the past. All of these sources supply the researcher with an “emic” perspective of the society being studied. In constructing this “emic” perspective, researchers are able to cross the boundaries of those areas, even if they think of their object from an epistemological starting point defined by Archaeology.

Regarding the testimonies that support the interpretation practices in Historical Archaeology, Charles Orser presents its diversity, specificity, and potentiality, which demand a multidisciplinary treatment of sources:

(...) the historical archaeology uses a set of information sources in its research. Some of these sources can be faced as belonging to history (written documents, maps, oral history), to cultural anthropology (ethnographies, museum specimens and oral testimonies), to the history of art (paintings, draws and photographs), to historical and cultural geography (maps, settlements and landscapes), to the historical architecture (buildings), to the folklore (oral tradition and vernacular architecture) and to archaeology (artifacts, structures and site context). (Orser 1992:52)

Moreover, according to Tânia Andrade de Lima, the importance of Historical Archaeology lies in the extended possibilities for recovering what written documents have not recorded from daily life, which is inwardly linked to wider social processes (Lima, 2002). Similarly, Orser and Funari claim that “Historical Archaeology is able to modify the great narratives of power frequently presented in documents, as we have shown in our comparative study between written sources about Palmares and the material culture of the archaeological sites.” (Funari & Orser, 2004: 22).

Apart from the phenomenological multiplicity of possible sources available for Historical Archaeology, they differ from each other, ultimately, in relation to their material nature: written, oral, material, and visual sources. It should be observed that Archaeology of Image regards visual sources as a type of material source, differently from strictly iconographic studies that conceive of them solely in their imagetic nature, as if it were possible to think of the social and cultural life of an image that is cut off from its physical and socio-economical support, which is essentially material. In this sense, both the study of 19th century black-and-white photographs and the study of

architectural iconography of the same period could be investigated under the perspective of Archaeology of Image, just as the study of ceramic painting of Attic vases.

Thus, thinking of the theoretical whys and wherefores of the sources in Historical Archaeology, in subsuming visual records under material records, and in regarding oral and written sources as sharing a similar nature of verbal discourse (be it spoken or written), the quaternary relation mentioned above—among written, oral, material, and visual sources—is methodologically reduced to a binary relation: that between material and written records. In this methodological antinomic relation, a third element—orality—is concealed, even if it is always conceptually assumed to exist. Methodologically, however, we can thus conceive of the discipline as a whole: not all historical societies that have left material records can be accessed via oral sources, unlike those from more recent historical periods whose studies can count on Oral History or ethnographical methods and techniques.

Thus what sets Historical Archaeology apart from, on one hand, Prehistoric Archaeology, and on the other, History—at least the one which draws from historical Positivism and is built exclusively on official written evidence—is the relation between material archaeological records and written historical records. This relation between material and textual sources puts forth a series of theoretical and methodological problems interweaving Historical Archaeology; such an issue demands a balanced and specific approach to both types of records. Amongst several Brazilian theorists of Historical Archaeology, Tânia Andrade Lima shows how this field, as developed in Brazil and identified under this label, addresses this question:

In dealing with these sources, balance unquestionably seems to be the best way, especially if they are considered a priori as independent evidence to be critically analyzed and contrasted. Most of the attraction and magic of Historical Archaeology—or of its art and mystery (...)—lies precisely on the multiple possibilities that archaeological records present to complement, confirm but, above all, contradict documental records. In doing so, they generate a third level of information, which is not properly archaeological, nor properly historical, but is deeply fruitful. (Lima 2002: 12)

From History’s point of view, several generations of historians have chosen to use material and visual records as illustrations or proof of historical narratives and assertions based on written documents. These were considered by the heirs of Ranke’s or Lenglois and Seignobos’s tradition as the only solid and reliable foundation for establishing real narratives about the past. Historical Archaeology could have opted for an epistemological reaction based on an inversion:

approaching written documents as subsidiary to the knowledge drawn from material records. However that was not the choice: in Historical Archaeology, bets have been placed on the strenuous and interdependent approach of written, material, and visual sources.

Gilberto da Silva Francisco, in his recently defended master's thesis in Archaeology at University of Sao Paulo (MAE/USP), took up these questions in his study of the relation between writing and images in Attic vase painting. He not only realized the interdependence between these sources but also underscored that it is not possible to establish an *a priori* hierarchy about the greater or lesser value of these sources to the knowledge of the past, since words and images do not have a contrasting commitment to reality; on the contrary, they even out these differences in their proximity or distance towards such a commitment. (Francisco 2007: 32).

This type of epistemological debate, which is central to the definition of Historical Archaeology in a study of Greek vase painting such as the one mentioned above, may puzzle those who might not be familiar with the tradition of Classical Studies. Nevertheless the reflection upon the relation between image and text is a very old question in Classical Archaeology and in the studies of Ancient Greece and Rome in general. In Francisco's dissertation, I had the opportunity to read an excerpt by Oscar Wilde, who already pondered upon this topic in 1891:

Do you believe that the Athenian women were like the stately dignified figures of the Parthenon frieze, or like those marvellous goddesses who sat in the triangular pediments of the same building? If you judge from the art, they certainly were so. But read an authority, like Aristophanes for instance. You will find that the Athenian ladies (...) were exactly like any silly fashionable or fallen creature of our own day. The fact is that we look back on the ages entirely through the medium of Art, and Art, very fortunately, has never once told us the truth. (O.W. The Decay of Lying. An Observation. 1891.)

Leaving behind some interpretations of this great and unknown hellenist, Oscar Wilde's perception of the relation between text and image is quite shrewd, even though he seems to downplay visual data regarding commitment to historical truth.

By mid-20th century, with the advances in Classical Iconography studies, some conceptual approaches for analyzing the relation between text and image evidence were developed. This was partially enabled by the codification developed by the international project *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, that published its first volumes in the 1920s.

Charles Dugas, in his *Tradition littéraire et tradition graphique dans l'Antiquité grecque* (1960), was the first

to observe the possibility of independence of written and visual sources, which are autonomous regarding their content and tradition, though they may never be considered in isolation. He also proposes a classification of possible relations between textual and visual records:

1st possibility: Written and visual records converge in presenting the same topic of the past, corroborating each other, showing the same point of view.

2nd possibility: Written and visual records diverge in presenting the same topic of the past, and literary and graphic traditions do not corroborate each other.

3rd possibility: On a given topic of the past, evidence can be found in one type of record, but not in the other.

In tandem with one of the principles of Historical Archaeology—which determines that a material source should be treated independently in the first phase of data analysis, before it is contrasted to literary testimony—Classical Iconography has developed a set of methods for decoding visual testimony since the 19th century. A couple of these methods are the attribution of authorship, which assists chronological sequencing, and interpretation of iconographic features, which allows the identification of scenes and characters.

Attribution of authorship was developed because of an interest in the personality of the vase painters, which was sought in the description of the artist's traces. In late 19th century, P. Hartwig, starting from signed vases (with the signature of the potter and the painter), founded the science of attribution, inspired in Art historian Giovanni Morelli's (1816-1891) methodology. In 1893, having identified 10 signed names and establishing artistic relations, he recognized different artistic personalities through which he was able to attribute authorship to approximately 200 vases. (Hartwig 1893. About Morelli: Ginsburg 1980: 3-44) Hartwig's work was followed by that of A. Furtwängler (Furtwängler & Reichhold 1901) and established as a methodology by J. D. Beazley.

Beazley started a six-decade long career of attributions in 1908. He developed a technique for identifying painters, groups, and classes based on his own and his pupils' observations and with the support of a huge and efficient index including most collections then known. He was able to identify a series of painters and nameless schools, whose work was not analyzed through the perspective of the master piece, Hartwig's *Meisterwerk*, but through a perspective that privileged the ensemble, detecting styles and different generations of painters. To do so, he made use of an interpretation system of vases that was based on the following elements: execution (E), representation system (R), and drawing (D). (Beazley 1922: 84-5)

Hence I understand that Classical Iconography belonged *avant la lettre* to the field of Historical Archaeology, since the former is a subarea of Classical Archaeology. If

one ponders upon the issue of written and material testimonies, Classical Archaeology, in its turn, could be considered nowadays an area of Historical Archaeology, despite the fact that Classical Archaeology's tradition traces back earlier to Renaissance in relation to recent Historical Archaeology. Classical Archaeology could be subsumed under Historical Archaeology along with archaeologies of other historical societies such as Old Egypt, Mesopotamia, or China, as well as with European or Islamic Middle Ages, just as with Archaeology of the Modern World or of the New World, which should no longer be mistakenly regarded as the essence of Historical Archaeology.

As mentioned above, within Historical Archaeology different forms of relation among text, material support, and image result in an experience of transdisciplinarity. In order to show the extension to which Classical Iconography is part of Historical Archaeology, I would like to point out some empirical contexts of interpretation which need be placed in a relational process, according to three patterns of testimonial relation, of interpolation between typologies of testimony:

1st relation: image-image

2nd relation: image-material support

3rd relation: image-text

In this article, concerned with a reflection on Historical Archaeology, I will briefly present a case of interpretative relation of the third type, between image and text, which will allow us to think of disciplinary decentering in Archaeology, History, and Anthropology.

IMAGE-TEXT RELATION

Relations between image and literary testimonies can be treated under a series of perspectives; it is not possible to give one single example that includes the whole set of possible situations. I will analyze a vase that exemplifies the wealth of possibilities and conceptual risks involved in these analyses: an amphora by the Amasis Painter (Figure 11.1), currently kept in Würzburg, that pictures a group of satyrs taking part of grape harvesting and pigeage.

Let us briefly describe the main scene in the body of this amphora. On the right side, we can see a silenus harvesting grapes. To his left, there is another quite fat silenus standing on a basin over a stool and treading on the grapes. The fruit juice runs down into a *pithos* almost entirely buried on the ground. Under the stool is an *oinokhoe*. Further left are three silenoi: the first is assisting the work of pigeage with his hands, pouring more grapes into the basin; the second is playing the *aulos* (double-reeded instrument); the third is pouring some liquid from a large *oinokhoe* into a great *pithos* partially



Fig. 11.1. Amphora (with lid). Black figures. Amasis Painter. Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum, L 265 and L 282. Between 540 and 530. Bothmer *Amasis* p. 113-6, no. 19. Holmberg, Erik. *On the Rycroft Painter and other Athenian black-figure vase painters with a feeling for nature*. Jansered (Sweden), 1922, fig. 21, p. 8. Cerqueira, 2001, cat. 524

buried on the ground. By the side of the first *pithos* is a *kantharos* on the ground.

Based on the iconographic description, I tentatively propose an interpretation. As commonly reported in dionysiac iconography, human and mythological elements mix, what poses another theoretical and methodological question. The winemaking activity performed by the satyrs is a reference to human work in vinification. Hence the *aulos* played by the satyr during harvesting and pigeage refers to the employment of this musical instrument in this activity, which was related to the celebration of *oskhophoria* in the Athenian calendar. But how can I support this interpretation?

Iconography of Attic vases does not record scenes with human figures performing rural activities along with musical instruments: these representations always have mythological characters, namely silenoi, part of the dionysiac entourage. How can one claim the existence of a social practice based strictly on representations of mythological characters without having contemporary iconographic and textual patterns with which to compare this vase by the Amasis painter, dating from the third quarter of the 6th century?

The lack of sources is partially due to an indifference displayed by painters and authors of the classical period towards rural themes, as observed by André Leonardo Chevatarese (Chevatarese 2000; 2001: 197-8; Cf. Aristophanes *Wasps* 1120-1537; *Acharnians* 33-39; *Clouds* 43-52, 372. Aristotle *Politics* 1328b, 1329a e 1330a. Teophrastus *Characters* 4.7-8, 4.11-2, 4.16.), as opposed to the hellenistic world. Hence classical period

sources provide us only with a fragmentary and prejudicial view of *khoraí*. Rural life, nevertheless, went on regardless of what urban characters such as writers and craftsmen thought of it. Thence, in order to reconstruct musical practices in the countryside, it was necessary to break the silence barrier imposed on the peasants who did not have a medium to express their own self-representation.

In order to break this Athenian silence on the type of music that was practiced in the country during the classical period, one needs to consider that Athens was not an isolated phenomenon in rural life habits and musical culture. Even though it bears specific characteristics, Athens shares certain aspects with other regions. Moreover, one needs to take into account that talking about country life involves what History calls *longue durée*.¹ In rural life, changes take place more slowly and continuities are longer. Therefore I will resort to references from other regions and from other times in order to explain the few evidences that Attic iconography provides us on music in rural life. In such wider perspective, one finds persuasive testimonies on the use of music during agricultural and sheepherding activities.

From all the works that represent rural life related to grapes and wines, only three black-figure vases dating from the 6th century suggest that musical instruments were used: two amphorae by the Amasis Painter (figure 11.1 = Cerqueira 2001: cat.524; Cerqueira 2001: cat. 524.1) and a *kylix* dating from the last decade of the 6th century (Cerqueira 2001: cat. 524.2). In the first two amphorae one can see silenoi and in the third a pair of nymphs—therefore, only mythological figures. None of them presents an iconographic context containing humans. Would one be prevented from claiming the use of *aulos* during agricultural work and particularly in grape harvesting?

To answer such a question, one needs to resort to the methods of Historical Archaeology described by Orser (1992:55) and contrast different sources.

I believe beforehand that the mythical representation of winemaking, an activity performed by satyrs and even nymphs, is a reference to human work involved in vinification. But one needs to find more convincing documental evidence. I have stated that painters often resort to a mythical representation of daily situations and that there is a strong preference for mythological approaches in religious activities related to wine and Dionysus. Both these aspects can be considered favorable premises to the interpretation I propose, but they are not valid as proof evidence. Here I cannot help but think of the *decisive power of sources* so regularly mentioned by Positivism.

¹ This concept was created by Fernand Braudel (1901-1985), and systematized in the article "Histoire et Science Sociale. Longue Durée.", published in *Annales E.S.C.*, 13:4, Oct.-Dec., 1958, p. 725-753.

The questions are: does the *aulos* played by the silenoi along with the pigeage and by the nymph along with the harvesting refer to the use of this musical instrument at Athens during these activities? Can one claim that grape harvesting is a rural activity that used to employ a musical accompaniment? Can one talk about music as a component of any phase of rural work? I do believe that the fact that the *aulos* is absent in grapevine scenes on red figure vases does not allow us to assert that Attic peasants did not use it. The first clue is given by Aristoxenus in the 4th century B.C., who tells us that the peasantry learned how to play the *aulos* and the *syrix* without studying.²

Here one faces a methodological hindrance: the chronological and geographical deviation between the Attic vase by Amasis and the amount of evidence about the presence of the *aulos* in winemaking, evidenced by iconographic and literary records to all of the ancient Mediterranean. In Homer's description of the Shield of Achilles, he talks about a boy who gracefully sings a song of *linos* with a voice of *aulos* and accompanied by a *phorminx* (*Iliad* XVIII.566-71). It is the first reference to music in grapevine plantations and the only one to string instruments in this kind of situation; however, his voice is compared to the high frequency and strident sound of the *aulos*, but this instrument was not known in the homeric world. The reference to this instrument in Homer occurs only in book XVIII of the *Iliad* which, according to the exegesis, would be a late addition to the work that portrays aspects of the reality of archaic Greece including music. (Cf. *Iliad* XVIII.490) Homer called it "Linos aria," which would later acquire funerary connotations and be used in the following centuries as the appropriate song to worship the dead, as it talked about Linos's tragic death.

All other textual references show the *aulos* as an instrument that traditionally accompanied the works in the grapevines in ancient times. Lexicographers of the imperial period mentioned the "squeezer's song," sang during the pigeage: *epileion aulema*. (Pollux IV.55. Bélis 1999: 71. Haldane 1966: 102. Lambin 1992: 148.)

According to Gérard Lambin, in his *La chanson grecque* (1995), several testimonies from the imperial period tell us of the custom to sing along with the *aulos* while treading on the grapes. (Cf. Calixenus of Rhodes *ap.* Athenaeus V.199a. *Palatine Anthology* IX.403 e XI.64. Longus II.2.2; IV.38.3. *Anacreontic Poems* 59 West, V.4-10. John Chrysostom. *Commentary on the Psalms* XLI.1. Pollux IV.55.) Athenaeus brings us a witty example of this habit in hellenistic Egypt: in describing the magnificent dionysiac procession promoted by Ptolemaeus Philadelphus at Alexandria, he described one of the four-wheeled wagons, in which the cultivation of grapevines developed under Dionysus's auspice was staged:

² Aristoxenus *ap.* Athenaeus IV.174f. Bion reports that they made their own instruments.

And next [after several wagons and groups] another four-wheeled wagon was drawn along, twenty cubits in length, drawn by three hundred men. And on it there was a wine-press (...) full of grapes; and sixty Satyrs were trampling on the grapes, singing a song in praise of the wine-press, to the music of a flute. And Silenus presided over them; and the new wine ran out over the whole road. (Athenaeus V.201sq)

This custom is attested until late antiquity in several regions of the ancient Mediterranean. A Roman mosaic from the 3rd century B.C. found at Saint-Romain-en-Gal attests the presence of this tradition in southern Gaul: in a picture representing the four seasons, Autumn is illustrated by a scene of grape pigeage and an *aulos* that sets the rhythm of the peasants' movements (Bélis 1999: 72).³

The most interesting source about this topic is an Egyptian papyrus from the 4th century A.D.: an official document through which an *auletés* was hired to work in the grapevines (Bélis 1999: 71).⁴ Since it is a relatively little known document, I here transcribe an excerpt, as it helps us better understand the role of the *auletés*:

To Aurelius Eugenius, gymnasiarch and senator of Hermopolis, from Aurelius Psenumis son of Colluthus and Melitina, flute-player, of Hermopolis (...) I acknowledge that I have contracted and agreed with you the landlord to present myself at the village of (...) at the vintage of the vineyards which are there along with the appointed grape-treaders and without fault assist the grape-treaders and the other workers by my flute-playing and not leave the grape-treaders until completion of the vintage of the approaching auspicious 10th indication; and for the flute-playing and the entertainment I shall receive the prescribed fee from those responsible. This agreement, which I have issued in a single copy, is valid, and in answer to the formal question I have given my consent. (...) (Signed) I, Aurelius Psenumis, will fulfil the terms of the engagement as stated above. I, Aurelius Pinution, assistant of Anicetus, have written for him, as he is illiterate. (Endorsed) Agreement of Aurelius Psenumis with Eugenius.

This contract sealed in Greek in the 4th century A.D. between members of the Greek community in Egypt discloses a number of things. Firstly, the hiring of the musician in an economic activity, implicating a stipend, complies with economic logic. For *Eugenius*, member of a political and landholding elite, the *auletés*' performance was necessary for the work routine to run well—he did not hire an *auletés* out of good will, rather he was considering productivity in his property. Such a contract

could not have been an isolated case. As a necessity, these musicians' presence in the rural grapevine scenes must have been fairly common.

Secondly, Psenumis is culturally described as an illiterate journeyman who is certainly a member of a social group Annie Bélis calls musical proletariat, consisting mostly of *auletai* employed in several other work activities.

From the above exposed, we stand before a fact of the *longue durée*. There is literary evidence for the use of the *aulos* in the grapevines until the 6th century: an epigram by Agathias Scholasticus talks about the Bacchic and cheerful cadence with which the *aulos* music accompanied and rendered the work rhythmical. This poet considered this music satirical, what reminds us of the amphorae by the Amasis Painter and Ptolemaeus Philadelphus's wagon, in which the pigeage was performed by satyrs, including several *auletai*. (Agathias Scholasticus *Epigrams. Greek Anthology. Palatine Anthology*, 64).

These customs have persisted throughout the centuries, coming to the 20th century in some regions of the Mediterranean. In Lebanon, ethnographic reports claim that a kind of double flute was used in grape harvesting up until the 1930s, supposedly in order to prevent peasants from sleeping. (Feghaft 1935: 167).

Hence we observe that the amphorae at Würzburg (Figure 11.1 = Cerqueira, 2001: cat. 524) and at Basel (Cerqueira, 2001: cat. 524.1), as well as the *kylix* at Munich (Cerqueira, 2001: cat. 524.2), are probably the only iconographic evidence in Attic pottery from mid-6th century to 4th century of the tradition of musical accompaniment with the *aulos* in the grapevines. This practice was present throughout the whole Mediterranean and is part of a logic regarding music usefulness—especially that of the *aulos*—for disciplining physical activities that involve repetitive and wearying movements, and for contributing to the invigoration of those who perform those tasks. Thus, from the anthropological perspective on music, we have the same situation for both *auletai* in pigeage, milling, or breadmaking, and *auletai* and trumpeters who set the rhythm for athletes, warriors, or oarsmen.

Two questions come up: (i) Why is the *aulos* predominant, instead of percussion or string instruments, to perform arias “of work” and to accompany physical activity? (ii) Why were the *aulos* and the *aulema* necessary for these activities, including grape harvesting?

In asking why there was a preference for the *aulos* accompanying songs instead of the *lyra*, Aristotle gives us a clue over the reason of choice of the first in the accompaniment of physical activities (athletic, manual, or toilsome). He argues that the sounds of the *aulos* and the voice are similar, as they are both produced by wind; the sounds of the *lyra*, on the other hand, are “thin” by nature

³ Kept at the Musée Archéologique Nationale de Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

⁴ Papyrus dated from 322 A.D. See: Wesely, C. In: *Studia Palatina* XIII.6.XX.78. (first publication) Hunt, A.S. & Edgar, C.C. *Select Papyri* (“Non literary papyri, private affairs”). London: Loeb.

and do not blend well with voice, producing the impression to the listener that there are two separate sounds, which makes it evident if the singer makes a mistake (Aristotele *Problems* XIX.43). We may infer from Aristotle's explanation, based on perception, that the *lyra* produces an intermittent sound, whereas that of the *aulos*, produced by the wind, is more continuous. This continuity is necessary to ensure the function of cadence control of the movement not only for reducing the irregularity (Aristotele *Physics*, a V.III.226b. Themistius *Commentary on Aristotele, Physics* [172, 26 sq. Schenel]) but also because of the stronger acoustic effect; the mild and discontinuous sound of the *lyra* loses much of its effect against the noise produced by physical activities. Moreover, the *aulos* is acoustically better than the *lyra* in open spaces where these arias "of work" are performed, be it for athletes exerting physical effort, be it in a noisy deck of a trireme or in the hold of a galley.

Maybe that is the reason why Aristotle considers the *aulos* an exciting instrument (Aristotele *Politics* VIII.6.1341b), that "stimulates action" (Bélis 1999: 76). In relation to the arias that accompanied athletic competitions or the so called arias "of work," as is the case of the *epilenion aulema* ("squeezer's song"), the function of stimulating physical effort (Athenaeus XIV.629f-627d) through rhythm is inextricably connected to the function of softening weariness, as the melody was occasionally sung by the workers in the grapevines or in the galleys. Singing brings joy and softens the burdensome sweat and pain of the physical effort demanded in exhausting and repetitive activities. (Bélis 1999:75) Aristides Quintilianus was aware that music's function was twofold:

Nature itself seems to have offered music to men as a gift, in order to help them bear hardships more easily; in fact, it is the singing that motivates oarsmen, but the role of music is not limited to tasks in which many people's efforts are coordinated by the pleasant sound of singing that entertains them. (Aristides Quintilianus *Institutio Oratoria* I.10.16)

Bearing weariness, motivating physical effort, controlling tiresome and repetitive physical movements based on regularity – music plays a role in all these functions, accompanying athletics, military practices and toilsome activities, all of which are based on repetitive body movements that must follow a rhythmic plan. The *aulos* necessarily exerts the musical function of synchronizing movements, placing them in a common and controlled pace (as in a metronome) and making repetition less monotonous. According to Sextus Empiricus (*Adversus Musicos* 18), the *aulos* helped executing any work that had "a marked pace, in order to organize thought."

The interpretation I proposed, articulating different types of documental sources, from different regions and produced in periods set well apart, may seem to be a risky analytical procedure, inconsistent with some rules

dictated by History, which is based on the principle of synchronicity of testimonies. This principle, however, needs to be reviewed in light of the concept of the *longue durée* and the observation of anthropological continuities. The dialogue between the Amasis Painter's vase, depicting the grape harvesting, and the Egyptian papyrus from the 4th century A.D., set apart chronologically by almost a millenium, illustrates one of the interpretative possibilities presented by the relation between text and image in History and Archaeology studies of Classical Iconography, understood as Historical Archaeology and Archaeology of Image.

By means of a case study, my objective was to provide a reflection upon the experience of disciplinary decentering put forth by the development of a research on music in the daily life of late ancient and classical Athens through a systematic analysis of the iconography of Attic ceramic vases. The multidisciplinary experience was connected to the need of binding an interpretation of the meaning of music in daily practices, understood as possessing social and cultural meaning, to the technical and semantic characteristics that are inherent to the study of classical ceramology as well as to the study of images as archaeological documental support.

Certainties as to the boundaries of different areas were thus lost, this study being in the midst of Archaeology, Anthropology, and History. It must be emphasized that these boundaries were gradually renounced as this study grew more familiar with the epistemological field of Historical Archaeology.

ICONOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION:

Cerqueira 2001: cat. 524: Amphora (with lid). Black figures. Amasis Painter. Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum, L 265 and L 282. (Figure 11.1).

Description:

Face A: Silenus playing the *aulos* in a scene of grape harveting and pigeage. On the right side, we can see a silenus harvesting grapes. To his left, there is another quite fat silenus standing on a basin over a stool and treading on the grapes. The fruit juice runs down into a *pithos* almost entirely buried on the ground. Under the stool is an *oinokhoe*. Further left are three silenoi: the first is assisting the work of pigeage with his hands, pouring more grapes into the basin; the second is playing the *aulos*; the third is pouring some liquid from a large *oinokhoe* into a great *pithos* partially buried on the ground. By the side of the first *pithos* is a *kantharos* on the ground. As commonly reported in dionysiac iconography, human and mythological elements mix, which poses another theoretical and methodological question. The winemaking activity performed by the satyrs is a reference to human work in vinification. Hence the *aulos* played by the satyr during harvesting and pigeage refers to the employment of this musical instrument in this activity, which was related to the celebration of *oskhophoria* in the Athenian calendar.

Face B: Dionysus dancing among ithyphallic satyrs. One of the them plays the *aulos* and the other pours wine into the *kantharos* held by Dionysus.

References: Bothmer, D. von. *The Amasis Painter and his world. Vase Paintings in sixth century Athens*. Malibu/California: Paul Getty Mus. e Nova Iorque/Londres: Thomas and Hudson. p. 113-6, n.º 19. Holmberg, E. *On the Rycroft Painter and other Athenian black-figure vase-painters with a feeling for nature*. Jansered (Sweden), 1922, fig. 21, p. 8.

Cerqueira 2001: cat. 524.1: Amphora. Black figures. Amasis Painter. Basel, col. Käppeli, Kā 420. 540-30.

Description:

Similar to the former.

Reference: Bélis, A. *Les musiciens dans l'Antiquité*. 1999, p. 72, note 34.

Cerqueira 2001: cat. 524.2: Kylix. Black figures (ABV 208/1; Add² 55). Munich, Antikesammlung, 2100. 510-500.

Description:

Mythological beings—lower half of the body, serpent; upper half of the body, woman—which could be identified as nymphs in their feminine part, and as cthonic powers related to fertility of the earth in their reptilian part, displayed in pairs besides grapevine poles; the pair on the right holds a net for keeping the grapes; the pair on the left portrays the ludic dimension of the activity, one of them playing the *aulos* and the other bringing a great *skyphos* for consuming wine.

References: *Kunst der Schale, Kultur des Trinkens*, Munich: Staatliche Antikesammlung und Glyptothek, 1990, p. 308-9, n.º 51.4, p. 328, n.º 56.6a.

English Version

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